

# ANTI-SLAVERY REPORTER,

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## Monthly Summary.

On Monday, the 27th Jan. ultimo, at the ordinary meeting of the *Royal Geographical Society*, held at Burlington House, Mr. Young, one of the leaders of the exploring party sent out in search of Dr. Livingstone, gave an account of his travels to a crowded and deeply-interested audience. A report of the proceedings will be found in another column.

The Hon. C. F. Adams, United-States' Minister in London, has resigned his appointment, and his resignation has been accepted. Mr. Adams has occupied his office seven years, being three years beyond the usual term of service. During a most trying period, he succeeded, by his sagacity and equanimity, in maintaining friendly feelings between the Government he represented and our own. His departure will be deeply regretted.

The *Wolverine*, Captain T. Cockran, the celebrated vessel on which Mr. Gordon was taken prisoner to Morant Bay, and which subsequently went to the scene of the earthquake at Tortola, and rescued eighty ladies, arrived, three weeks ago, at Woolwich Dockyard, where she became the object of considerable interest. She has been paid off at Woolwich.

On Saturday, the 10th ultimo, before Mr. Brewster, (Judges' Chambers, Court of Queen's Bench,) in the case of Phillips against Eyre, and Bruce against the same defendant, the plaintiffs applied, through their solicitors, Messrs. Shaen and Roscoe,

and obtained leave to demur to the pleas set up by the defendant, in answer to the declarations filed in their actions. Full particulars will be found in another column.

On Thursday, the 27th ultimo, Sir R. Collier, ex-Solicitor-General, instructed by Messrs. Shaen and Roscoe, applied to Sir Thomas Henry, at Bow Street, for a warrant to bring up Mr. Eyre, on a charge of being accessory to the murder of G. W. Gordon. Sir R. Collier's application was refused, on the ground that as the Grand Jury had thrown out the Bill against Messrs. Nelson and Brand, charged as principals, he did not feel justified in issuing a warrant against an accessory.

We greatly regret to have to announce the unexpected death of our estimable co-adjutor, Mr. Wilson Armistead, which took place on Tuesday the 18th ultimo. In the deceased gentleman the African race have lost an earnest friend, the best energies of whose life may be said to have been spent in the endeavour to secure their liberties and rights, and to promote their welfare.

CUBA.—A project is said to be on foot in the island for obtaining an unlimited supply of so-called free negro immigrant labourers. They are to be apprenticed for eight years, at an average rate of wages of four dollars a month.

QUEENSLAND.—At Brisbane, the attention of the community and of the local Government has been called to the importations which have been made during the last three years of natives of the South-Sea Islands, as "immigrant labourers."

Mr. Short, a gentleman who has paid considerable attention to the question of immigration, had delivered several lectures upon this peculiar form of what he very properly designated as "a slave-trade," in which members of the local Government are implicated. The people are introduced under contract to work for three years, on the cotton and sugar estates, and at the end of that time receive their wages in kind. In another column will be found fuller particulars.

**SIERRA LEONE** — Mr. William Rainy, Barrister-at-law, one of the Vice-Presidents at the Paris Anti-Slavery Conference, arrived at Freetown, Sierra Leone, by the January mail, and was received by a large number of the chief citizens of Freetown, who presented him with an address of welcome. Mr. Rainy replied in a very feeling manner.

Much disappointment was manifested at the non-arrival of Sir Arthur Kennedy, the new Governor-in-Chief. His appointment seems to have given general satisfaction.

**UNITED STATES. — Congressional** — On the 21st January the House of Representatives passed, by 123 votes to 45, the Bill declaring no valid civil government to exist in the lately rebellious States, prohibiting their recognition as valid by the national Executive, or judiciary, revoking all powers of removal or appointment conferred upon the President by the Reconstruction Act, and conferring them upon the general of the army, and declaring it unlawful for the President to employ the national army and navy to enforce the authority of the existing provisional State Governments, or oppose the execution of the Reconstruction Act.

The Reconstruction Committee have refused by six against three votes, to recommend the impeachment of President Johnson for opposing the Tenure of Office Bill.

Congress has passed a Bill authorizing the Secretary of War to employ counsel to defend officers charged with the execution of the reconstruction laws against civil prosecution.

The President has nominated General McClellan to the office vacated by Mr. Adams, United-States' Minister in London.

Mr. Stanton having been re-instated as Secretary-at-War by a vote of Congress, General Grant had quietly resigned the functions into his hands, stating that in so doing he yielded to a higher authority than the President's. Mr. Johnson had written to forbid his receiving any orders from Mr. Stanton in relation to the army; but the General had written back to say he did not see how he could refuse to obey the instructions of this branch of the Executive, as he had done heretofore. The

rupture between the General and the President is complete.

**Miscellaneous.** — The Florida Convention had assembled on the 20th January, and elected a white President and Secretary, the other officials being mostly negroes.

The Arkansas Convention has passed a resolution opposing the amalgamation of races.

The American Colonization Society reports having sent 633 Africans to Liberia during 1867, twelve more than during the previous year. It now has applications for aid in emigrating from over 3000 negroes, and, during the year, expended 84,000 dols. It has a ship called the *Golconda*, which makes the voyages to Liberia. The Society supports the emigrant's not only on the passage, but also for six months after landing there.

At the freedmen's celebration in Washington, Senator Pomeroy declared, that to require education as a condition of voting from a race whom we had made it a crime to educate, was adding the climax of insult to ages of injury. General Howard stated that the prosperity of the freed race throughout the South is marvellous, and sustained his statement from the official reports of his officers. He said that if the white people refuse to labour and learn, while the blacks continue to labour and learn, hereafter, as heretofore, the latter would soon be the leading race at the South.

In reference to the Fourteenth Amendment, the New-York *Tribune* thus speaks:

"Mr. Sumner has introduced a Bill in the Senate, and Mr. Bingham in the House, to declare that, as twenty-two States of the twenty-seven now participating in the Government, have adopted the proposed Fourteenth Amendment, it is, therefore, part of the Constitution. By official statement from Mr. Seward to Congress, it appears that Connecticut, New Hampshire, Tennessee, New Jersey, Vermont, Oregon, New York, Ohio, Illinois, West Virginia, Kansas, Nevada, Missouri, Indiana, Minnesota, Rhode Island, Wisconsin, Pennsylvania, Michigan, Massachusetts, Nebraska and Maine have adopted the Amendment. The Constitution provides no mode by which the adoption of a constitutional amendment shall be authoritatively declared. As Congress has clearly the legislative power to enact by whom and in what manner its adoption shall be declared, it doubtless has no less power to make the declaration itself. Should the Bill pass, they will decide the point, that three-fourths of the acting States may adopt a constitutional amendment. Unless Congress shall so decide, the amendment abolishing Slavery has not

yet passed, the Johnson State Governments, on whose votes Mr. Seward prematurely proclaimed its passage, having been superseded.

WEST INDIES. — JAMAICA — The *Morning Journal* says it is reported that the recommendation of His Excellency the Governor, that Messrs. Councillor Phillippo and Walcott should be appointed District Judges of this island, has been disregarded, on the ground of the local connection of the candidates; but that Mr. Phillippo would be offered a Judgeship in Sierra Leone.\*

BARBADOS. — The *West Indian* says it was understood that Governor Walker intended to pay the island a last official visit some time towards the end of January, and that there was a rumour of ex-Governor Eyre being appointed his successor. It adds: "Doubtless the Home Government have had proof that Governor Eyre has been benefited by his late experiences, so as to warrant their confiding to him another government. We have not had such proof, so we must wait and watch."

#### DR. LIVINGSTONE.

A CROWDED meeting of the Royal Geographical Society was held at Burlington House on Monday evening, the 27th ult., to hear from Mr. Young, the leader of the expedition sent out last year to investigate on the spot the truth of the reported death of this great African explorer, an account of the results of his mission. In the absence from indisposition of Sir R. Murchison, the President of the Institution, Admiral Sir George Back occupied the chair. After some formal business,

The CHAIRMAN said he was sure they would all share his deep regret at the absence, on the present occasion, of their excellent President, to whose great knowledge and experience and instinctive sagacity they might chiefly ascribe the detection of the falsehood of Moosa and the Johanna men's story about the murder of Dr. Livingstone. Sir Roderick's affection for his friend Livingstone had made him endeavour to induce the Council of that Society to urge on the Government the propriety of fitting out a searching party; an appeal which, he was happy to add, had been most nobly responded to. Having himself been a member of the Committee appointed to organize the expedition, he had an opportunity of witnessing Mr. Young's bearing from the first. Mr. Young

being convinced of the untruth of the tale told by the Johanna men, said, with characteristic intrepidity, that he would go out, if permitted, and find out the facts. He had successfully fulfilled his arduous task with honesty, tact, courage, and resolution, completing his journey considerably within the time specified.

The Secretary then read to the meeting a letter from Sir R. Murchison to the Chairman, in which, after expressing his extreme disappointment at being unable to be present that night, Sir Roderick went on to say:

"I ask you to take the chair for me at the evening meeting, and to state that inexorable fate prevents me, to my great vexation, from attending. You, who know as well as any member of the Council how I have strenuously pulled the leading oar in bringing about this boat-search expedition, how I sought out Mr. Young, and how I prevailed upon the Secretary for Foreign Affairs and the Board of Admiralty to approve the design, can well understand the glow of honest satisfaction I felt when I heard of its complete success. Again, you also can testify to the firmness with which, from the first day of the reports of the murder of my dear friend Livingstone, I resisted the almost general belief; for without that resistance no Government and no Board of Admiralty would have countenanced an expenditure of money even in search of so great a traveller and so good a man as Livingstone. In taking this line, and in pursuing it with ardour, I was well aware I undertook a heavy responsibility; but as my distinguished friend Captain Richards, R.N., the Hydrographer, embraced the cause with equal zeal, and the Lords of the Admiralty most generously supported it, nothing remained but to pray for a successful issue, and have full confidence in Mr. Young. Our project, thanks to that excellent seaman and his companions, has been entirely successful. But often has my energy almost broken down when I reflected on the various difficulties to be overcome; for I well knew how many casualties might occur to prevent the expedition ever reaching the spot where, as it is now proved, the Johanna men deserted Livingstone. My friends of the Geographical Society will recollect how, in expressing my belief that the Johanna men had deserted Livingstone, I further gave as an hypothesis of their reason for doing so, that they were coast men, and acquainted only with the Zambesi and its tributaries; and that when their chief decided on plunging into the heart of Africa they fled from him; and, indeed, they assigned as their motive to the native chiefs, to whom they told the truth, that it was fear which prevailed over them. Had they only re-told this story to the Consul at Zanzibar, what sufferings of the friends of Livingstone would they not have averted, instead of bringing on themselves the execrations of every one? I hope some measures will be taken to make these wretches feel, that in reporting to British authorities they must speak the truth. To put together a boat constructed in sections, to

\* Mr. Phillippo has accepted the appointment. It is that of Assistant-Judge. — (Ed. A. S. R.)



find a negro crew for the navigation of the Zambesi, to put the boat together, and have it carried up thirty-six miles along the sides of the cataracts to the river Shiré, then, after navigating the waters until the fate of Livingstone was clearly ascertained, to take the vessel to pieces, and convey it to the Zambesi, and again to reconstruct it and sail down the Zambesi, and finally bring it and the party safely back to England without the loss of a single man—this, indeed, is a real triumph. But if any one of the numerous chances of failure had gone against our enterprise—had the party never reached the spot required—I well know that I should have had to endure much obloquy. Now, however, we have only to rejoice, and in the fullest confidence, that the white man seen on the west shore of Lake Tanganyika was Livingstone. I look with the deepest interest to the arrival on the east coast of the Arab to whom the travellers entrusted letters for the Consulate at Zanzibar. When these letters arrive we shall know whether the great traveller has followed some great river to the west coast, or has crossed eastwards to Zanzibar, or whether, indeed, he may not have it in view to work northwards into the vast tributaries of the Nile. The last of these hypotheses will, I presume, be only attempted by him in case he finds the waters of Lake Tanganyika flowing northwards. In regard to these three hypotheses, I may add that Dr. Kirk at Zanzibar, in a letter dated the 30th of November, which I have not communicated to the Society, states, though anxious to come home himself, ‘But I will not stir until I see our dear friend safe out of Africa.’ Hence I infer that Dr. Kirk thinks that, having determined the problem of the waterflow of Lake Tanganyika, Livingstone will cross over to the east coast. It is a great source of vexation to me not to be present on this occasion, when I should have had it in my power to express personally the great obligation we owe to the Board of Admiralty; and I am sure that the Society will unanimously return thanks to them for their truly liberal and judicious support of the expedition, as recommended by our Council.”

A resolution, agreed to by the Council of the Society, was also read to the meeting, to the effect that they begged to express to the Board of Admiralty their entire and unqualified approbation of the conduct of Mr. Young, in command of the Livingstone search expedition, which had just returned to this country; that when they considered the numerous difficulties which he had to overcome, and now knew that the expedition had completely answered the end for which it was sent out—namely, to inquire into the fate of Dr. Livingstone, so as to determine whether he had been murdered where the Johanna man had left him—and seeing also that it had been ascertained that Dr. Livingstone went in safety five days’ march beyond the spot at which it was reported he had been killed, they had earnestly recommended Mr. Young to their lords’ most favourable consideration as

being well worthy of any reward which they might be pleased to confer upon him.

Mr. Young’s official report to Sir R. Murchison was next read to the meeting. This document stated, that on arriving at the Kongone mouth of the Zambesi, on the 27th of July, a crew of negroes was engaged to man the steel boat and two other smaller boats. Ascending the stream, the party arrived at the Portuguese settlement of Senna on the 6th of August; but the place, like all others on the south side of the Zambesi, was found abandoned, the Portuguese authorities and settlers having been killed or driven out by the Landeen Caffres. Temporary dwellings had been erected on the northern banks of the river, and Mr. Young was well received, and promised assistance in the event of his not being able to obtain hands to convey the boat beyond the cataracts of the Shiré. The expedition reached Chibisa on the 17th of August, and found that the marauding Maziti Zulus had swept down from the north as far as the eastern bank of the Shiré, robbing, burning, and murdering all within reach. The Makololo (whom Livingstone had left at this place on his former expedition) received Mr. Young gladly, and at once agreed to accompany him in search of news of the Doctor, with the arrangement that ammunition should be left behind to enable those who remained to repulse the Maziti, should they attempt to cross the river. On the 19th the foot of the cataracts was reached, and the boat taken to pieces. It occupied about 150 men four days and a half to convey the boat, provisions, &c., by land past the long series of cataracts. The boat was then rebuilt, and re-launched on the 30th of August, and the journey continued along the upper waters into Lake Nyassa, the banks of the river being crowded in places by fugitive Ajawa chiefs and their people, flying from the merciless Zulus. Mapunda, on the west side at the entrance to the lake, was passed without being visited, as the Makololo had become alarmed and discontented, and Mr. Young’s aim was to push forward as far as possible. Here the first reports were heard of a white man, apparently Livingstone, having been at Mapunda about twelve months previously. Entering the lake on the 6th of September, a fine breeze carried the party to the eastern side, but a heavy gale of wind succeeded, and the boat narrowly escaped being swamped. Running three hours along the coast, a shelter was at length obtained, and on the shores of the harbour a negro was found, who gave a clear description of the late visit of Dr. Livingstone to the place. Mr. Young followed up the traces hence to the Arab settle-



ment, where he arrived the next day, and was there informed that Livingstone had been there, but, on finding the Arabs could not convey him across the lake, had departed southward to cross at Mapunda. Mr. Young despatched searching parties by land to make sure of the route Livingstone had followed in coming from the Rovuma, and also of the road taken by the Johanna men in returning. He then crossed the lake to Marenga, where he ascertained that Livingstone had safely passed on, at least five days' journey beyond the point where the Johanna men had deserted. The chief Marenga, who was an old friend of Livingstone's, assured Mr. Young that if the Doctor had been killed one month's journey beyond his village, he (Marenga) would have heard of it. At the question whether he had been attacked by Maziti, Marenga laughed, as it was well known that the Maziti had never been seen in this part of the country. At Mapunda Mr. Young found a book with the name "Wakotani" written in it, this being the name of one of Livingstone's educated negro companions, who was stated by Moosa to have deserted. Mr. Young ascertained that Wakotani had gone on with Livingstone. The expedition then descended the river, and arrived at the mouth of the Zambesi on the 11th of November, the boats being brought safely down, and all the party quite well in health.

Mr. Young, having been called upon by the Chairman to offer a few remarks in addition to his official report, was loudly cheered. He briefly related the leading incidents of his journey, interspersing his narrative with many interesting anecdotes. He had, he said, a quick and pleasant passage as far as the Zambesi, and found no difficulty in obtaining the aid he required from the negroes there, to whom the English were well known. Having arrived at Shupango, he discharged his crew, and afterwards proceeded to Senna, where he procured assistance from the Portuguese to carry his boat up the cataracts. He had rather a troublesome journey up the Shiré river, but the men worked well till they got to Rua, where he visited the grave of Bishop M'Kenzie, and had it somewhat renewed. When he reached Chibisa nothing could exceed the joy of the Makololo on seeing the party and the English flag. They danced and sang the whole night long to the beating of drums. Next morning he explained the object of his visit to them, when they at once said—"Narki (meaning Dr. Livingstone) was our father; you behaved well to us when you were out here; you are our father now, and we will do what you wish." He then made his terms with them. They were to supply

him with men who were to find their own food and carry the boat up beyond the cataracts and back again, a distance of about 150 miles, and for this service each carrier was to receive eight yards of calico, of the value of three shillings, which was double wages. When all was ready for starting, fresh reports about the incursions of the Maziti—apparently the terror of those regions—reached them. The Makololo began to waver, and wished to go back. He remonstrated with them, reminding them of the bargain they had made, and telling them, that if they had not undertaken to accompany him he would have applied for help to the Portuguese. He also assured them that there was no danger from the Maziti, and that at all events he risked his own life, which was as valuable as theirs. They seemed to think it was not, and said that if he were killed the English could protect his wife, whereas their wives would be unprotected. He replied, that if they lost their wives they could get others, while, perhaps, he could not. After much persuasion and some threats on his part, they at last went on, not, however, working well till they got to Lake Nyassa. Then a heavy storm arose, and the Makololo lay down in the bottom of the boat, as they said, to die, and nothing could rouse them. They refused to bale the water out of her, and they all had a narrow escape of shipwreck. At the river Pamquala he learnt that Dr. Livingstone had been there about a year before; that he had first struck the Lake Nyassa there, coming from Mataka; that he remained some ten days there, and then went northward to the Arab settlement of Acquini; but that, not being able to get conveyance across the lake, he had worked his way round by its southern shore. Mr. Young next crossed the lake himself to the territory of the Ajawas, and saw the men who had carried Dr. Livingstone's luggage. He had conversations with the Ajawas about the Doctor's personal appearance and the direction he took. They all scouted the idea of his being dead, and said they must have known it if any foul play had befallen him. They described him minutely: there was no material variation in their statements, and they quite satisfied him that the Doctor had gone on from Marenga in perfect safety towards Loanguo, at the north-west. Mr. Young's party next went to Marenga, and there also ascertained that Livingstone had gone thence in safety, being in fact enabled to trace his route for five days beyond the place and time at which the Johanna men deserted him and reported his death. At Mapunda he saw the house where the Doctor had stayed, and gathered fresh evidence of his safety. In conclusion,

he trusted that the Doctor would turn up in a few weeks more, to set at rest all doubt on the point.

The CHAIRMAN thought Mr. Young's plain and simple but graphic narrative must have carried conviction to the minds of all who heard it that Dr. Livingstone still lived.

Captain FAULKNER, who took part in the expedition, then gave some amusing incidents connected with the enterprise. He had shot elephants at as short a range as five yards, one bullet from a pistol, aimed at the head of one of these animals, sufficing to disable it instantaneously. After he had been staying with one hospitable native chief, who had never seen a white man before, his host offered to make him a rather odd present, namely, a young lady. He was shown the girl, and asked whether he liked her. For the fun of the thing he replied, "Yes," when the chief told him that he must catch her himself if he wished to take her away. She was, however, afterwards brought to him bound like a captive, when she created a great scene; but he told the chief that he would treat her as the English always treated slaves, whereupon he took out his knife to cut the cord by which she was tied, and immediately set her free. Captain Faulkner expressed his thanks to Sir R. Murchison for having allowed him to accompany the expedition, and also his obligations to Mr. Young for all the kindness he had shewn him.

Mr. HORACE WALLER, who was in Africa with Bishop M'Kenzie, expressed his great gratification at the result of Mr. Young's enterprise. As an old sojourner in those regions he had not the slightest doubt but that Mr. Young had traced Dr. Livingstone along many days' journey, and he had great hopes that the Doctor was now on his way to the northward. Had any thing serious occurred to Livingstone the natives and their chiefs would have kept silence about him, for it was the custom in those countries for travellers passing from village to village to go to the chiefs, who took upon themselves the responsibility for their safety. The fact that the chief at Marenga told Mr. Young at once that Livingstone had been there, and had gone on thence in safety, shewed that he was able to speak of our distinguished countryman with a clear conscience; and that was the strongest proof that the Doctor had passed through that territory in safety. There was no doubt that the English name stood high along the Lake Nyassa. The Portuguese were also well known there, but their reputation was very bad. Mr. Young had taken only seven months for his journey out and home; and no doubt a small party of plucky Englishmen, with a small

boat on the lake, could do more for the suppression of the slave-trade in those parts than all our African squadron. Glorious as that expedition had been, he therefore trusted that it would lead to still greater results hereafter. Dr. Livingstone, in all probability, had a long journey before him, going westward to examine a small lake to the west of Lake Nyassa, and then he would go on to Lake Tanganyika, and he thought they would next hear of him at Alexandria.

Sir S. BAKER thought, that as Livingstone had been seen with only nine followers, it was almost impossible that he could get to Alexandria. He hoped, however, almost against hope, that they would hear of his return to Zanzibar. They had heard much of Dr. Livingstone, but unfortunately they had heard nothing from him. Let them, therefore, not suffer their spirits to grow too buoyant. For himself, last year he confessed that he had no hope of Livingstone's safety; but he had some hope now, because it had been proved that Moosa and the Johanna men did tell lies. That Society had power to bestow honour where it was due, but not punishment. Moosa and the Johanna men had basely deserted Livingstone, and put this country to the expense of a search for him. There were panthers and other feline races in Africa, but he should like to see another species of cat—the British cat-o'-nine tails—sent out to our Consul at Zanzibar for the benefit of Moosa and the Johanna men. In conclusion, all that they could do was to trust that they would receive in a short time some official account sent by Dr. Livingstone to our Consul at Zanzibar.

The CHAIRMAN, referring to the remark of the last speaker that they had heard little from Dr. Livingstone himself, wished to mention that Dr. Kirk had informed the Society that letters had been sent from Dr. Livingstone by a trader, who was delayed on the way, and probably by this time that trader had arrived on the coast, if not at Zanzibar itself. At all events, they knew that Sir R. Murchison was in expectation of early tidings from Livingstone.

The meeting was then adjourned till the 10th February.

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#### W. F. MITCHELL'S FAREWELL ADDRESS.

WE were much disappointed not to be able to give in our last issue the touching farewell address delivered by William Forster Mitchell, at the meeting held at Devonshire House (Meeting for Sufferings' Room) on the 13th of January last, Josiah Forster in the Chair. We have since been favoured



with the text of the Address, and are pleased to record it. The meeting had been convened under the auspices of the *National Freedmen's Aid Union*. Mr. Mitchell spoke as follows :

When your kind invitation to visit this country was received, one feature which claimed my special attention was the reference to the feeling of gratitude which you knew must exist among the friends of the freedmen in America towards the friends of the cause in Great Britain, for the liberal response which for three years past has been made to our appeals for aid. I felt that it might be a satisfaction to our friends here to listen to the statements of one who had met the freedmen as they emerged from their life of bondage, witnessed their sufferings, lived among them, seen their efforts to obtain education, marked their industry and perseverance, and known much of their existing condition. With this feeling I accepted the invitation. I was too busily occupied with my work in Tennessee to make preparation for the visit. I came trusting that I should have the proper way of presenting my cause shewn to me. How far this has been realized you may judge. Few of our meetings have been large; but of those who attended them many have been life-long anti-slavery people, and, on more than one occasion, from the interest they manifested in our work, I have distinguished them from the rest of our hearers. To me one of the most interesting features of the campaign in which Arthur Albright and myself have been engaged has been the tracing of some portions of the large supplies of clothing received from this land, and distributed, under my own eyes, to the benevolent sources of the charity all over this country. At one time a Friend inquired if I knew any thing of "a package of warm shawls for girls which had been sent to America." He described them; and at once the orphan children at Nashville stood before me. They had worn those shawls, and as they were inspected every Sabbath morning, this item of their costume was perfectly familiar. The Friend was from Ross, and, without invidious comparison, the words,

"The man of Ross, each lisping babe replies,"

I thought not inappropriate as applied to him. Through Berkshire, and, in fact, everywhere, I met our helpers. They were such people as I had imagined—Christian people, with a faith which is not mere sentiment, but which is continually asking, "Lord, what wilt thou have me to do?" Before many meetings had been held, I was made aware of the fact that a sharp contest had been going on in this country during our American war between the friends of liberty and those whose want of information was the only excuse for them, as Englishmen, for the position they took on our great question of human rights. Those who had done battle for us came to our meetings, and as they heard our statements, the exultant, "I told you so," was written upon their faces. Sometimes they have left me with a word to remember. After one of our country meetings a hearer said to me, "I always took the side of the North, for I could not see how any one with the least faith could believe that a confederacy founded upon Slavery could be tri-

umphant." I am satisfied that our friends in this country were more numerous than we thought. The feature of the aid hitherto afforded to the freedmen by England which I have liked best to dwell on in my public addresses has been the preservation and promotion of peaceful relations between the two great countries. I have tried to shew that the knowledge of this charity is wide-spread, and must tend to peace. It has been a heaven, the working of which could only be known most fully by the friends of our cause; and nothing is more confirmatory of the position we have taken with reference to the improved feeling towards England in the United States, than the late discussion in the American Congress on the propriety of recognising the Abyssinian flag. Cleverly as the argument was made, and faithful as was the comparison between our right to do this and Britain's action in recognising the South as a belligerent, but one member of the house was found to support the resolution; while, on the other hand, our best men opposed it with dignity and firmness. How important it is that the peaceful relations between these two countries should be maintained. What close relationships exist between our peoples. The phrase, "Our American cousin," is something more than a by-word, or the title of a play. There are thousands of families in Great Britain with near relatives in the United States; and in this respect the two countries are more nearly connected, perhaps, than were the Northern and Southern States before our great war. The first great calamity of a war between these two nations would be the sundering, the violent disruption of family ties. May the fathers and the sons, the brothers and the sisters, the American and English cousins, set their faces firmly against any policy of either Government that would tend in this direction. Before I left America I was told that twice in our history the anti-Slavery people of both countries had prevented the nations from going to war; and since travelling with your intelligent honorary Secretary, than whom no one is better informed on such topics, I have heard him assert repeatedly that the recognition of the Southern Confederacy was lost in the British cabinet by one vote. During the war it is needless for me to say the anti-slavery sentiment wonderfully increased on our side; and I am sure I shall speak but the truth when I say, that since the war there have been some wonderful conversations on your side. The British aid extended to the freedmen has, we are told, amounted in all to seven hundred thousand dollars of our currency. It is a fitting time for the publication of this fact. Before the aggregate was known there was scarcely a town or hamlet in the Union but had heard of England's kindness to the freed people. Now we have the sum, "lent to the Lord," you may be assured, as time and the progress of events will shew. Much of your aid has been sent through the American Freedmen's Union Commission. At the head of this association is the chief-justice of the United States; and prominent among its officers is William Lloyd Garrison. With such men as these to endorse our movement, and, on your side, Sir T. F. Buxton and William Edward Forster, not to speak of the



endorsement of America's much-loved friend, John Bright, the reign of good feeling will not easily be disturbed. Would that John Bright would visit the United States. We would proclaim a holiday. Our poets should tune their lyres anew; and he whose voice was said at one time to have no echo in England should have it returned back across the Atlantic in the plaudits of a grateful people. If there ever was a time when both Governments needed wise men at the head of affairs, that time is the present; men, on the one hand, who should let no question of the difficulties in a foreign country disturb their relations with it: men, on the other hand, to forego pride, to satisfy the claims of justice, and to be willing rather to part with that to which they may justly be entitled, than to risk the danger of war. Of no greater crime could any man be guilty than that of inciting, by word or deed, a conflict between Britain and America; and as well are those guilty of this who publish falsehoods of America in London newspapers, as the editor who is under arrest for sedition or treason-felony. Ours is a peace movement. The special fund now being raised for the training of coloured teachers is a graceful closing of a work of beneficence which will live in the history of charities. It has been recognised, wherever we have been, as a peace movement; and the impression that I have, after six months in visiting all parts of this country, is, that there is little or no feeling of hostility to us in your land. I feel confident that if all questions now at issue between the two countries be speedily settled, harmony will exist for a long time to come, both nations learning each of the other. I came to this country with faith in the freedman. It was first tested by reports through the papers of his unwillingness to labour; but this, I knew, was not his character, for I had seen his eagerness to work. I noted, too, the falling price of cotton, a sure indication that the crop would not be smaller than was anticipated, and so scarcely thought it worth while to give these reports even a passing notice. About two months since my attention was called to newspaper reports from the United States of a probable "rising among the freed people." I wondered if those who believed it ever asked themselves the question, "What is such a rising for?" Two years since there was some expectation of a "rising" or insurrection at Christmas. I was residing at the time in Nashville, Tennessee. When the festive season came, the coloured people were much at home, and some of them told me that there were "so many stories afloat about them that they thought it better not to be seen abroad." The Christmas came and went. The great rising resulted in the arrest of one old negro preacher, who, when charged with preaching insurrection, replied, "No, sar, dat was not it. I preached *resurrection*, not insurrection." So of this last Christmas. It has come and gone. Black children as well as white have enjoyed its festivities, and the only "rising" has been of songs of praise. The coloured man is peaceable and law-abiding. During the season following the war I knew of their enduring great hardships and much ill-treatment. The war had left behind it a ruffianism which readily turned upon these poor people.

After my return to Tennessee, in the fall of 1865, I learned that a coloured man had been savagely whipped by a low white man in the public streets of Nashville, without calling forth any interference. The whites did not, perhaps, care to interfere, and perhaps the coloured people thought they should avoid a greater trouble by leaving their fellow-countryman in the hands of these white Abyssinians. They were not paid promptly, and were often the prey of bad men. All was borne patiently, and they hoped for better times. Many a man has come to me with a tale of wrong and injustice; but never one threatening revenge. What have these people done that the desire to think the worst of them is so generally manifest? Sometimes the charges against them are ridiculously inconsistent. Thus, in an article in one of your newspapers on the culture of cotton, among the many reasons given for the low price was the un-reliability of negro labour. There is a prevalent idea that the price of a commodity is regulated by supply and demand, and just now it seems as though cotton is a little like English railroad stock, the more a man has the worse he is off. Just now we are told that three millions of people in the South are starving, and that they are mostly freedmen. I shall believe it when Congress is memorialized to that effect, and not before. When citizens of the United States are in danger of starvation, the government of the United States will see that they are fed. For several years, doubtless, the people of the Southern States will have to live more economically than ever before, and very likely cotton will not be raised so cheaply by free-labour as by slave-labour. The freedmen will want many things—will doubtless value their services at a higher rate than the bare cost of their maintenance; and as half a million of them perished in the war, labour may cost more for this reason too. The idea of the negro's inability to learn seems to have been abandoned. The necessity for normal schools for training teachers of their own race for the freedmen is a striking illustration of the progress that has been made. Having tried the experiment of training coloured teachers in my own field, it was natural that I should speak of it in pleading for the freedmen here. The adoption of this direction for the special fund now being raised has met with universal favour, and letters from America justify us in believing that the sum raised for this purpose in England will give a stimulus to education which will be felt for years. The young people in our training schools will be the leaders and guides of their race. They will know that English money has aided them in obtaining their education. They will be told of the aid sent from this country in the hour of their deliverance, when passing through deep waters; and they, too, will be a leaven of peace with England. Nothing would be more pleasing to me than to visit all the coloured schools of the United States, and tell the thousands gathered in them of the warm interest which is felt in and for them by their friends here. I feel sure that their teachers will not neglect thus to excite their gratitude. My widely-extended tour in this country has been attended by a hospitality which, to me, is wonderful. The records of my journal

are but the settings of many pictures of English homes. I shall recall them when far away, always with the wish that they may never have one comfort the less. A short time since a prelate of the Episcopal Church in the United States, speaking of the "establishment" in this country, praised its grandeur and magnificence. He had never before seen the church in its glory. The Society of Friends in England is neither grand nor magnificent, but it is full of earnest men and women, which is far better. The poor know it; the ignorant know it; and all who need pity know it. The ancient zeal is once more revived. In presenting our appeal for the freedmen to our own people, we have enjoyed a double advantage. Not only has the care of the oppressed coloured man become a part of our religious economy, but a large majority of our people being at work in some sort of Mission-fields, felt a sympathy for all other Missionary operations. I cannot tell you how interesting it has been to me to see the Society in this country. May it deepen in religious life as it moves forward in its path of usefulness. In conclusion, I can but express the gratitude of the freedmen's friends in America for all which you have done, and my own, for the marked kindness which has everywhere met me in this country. But the gratitude of the freedmen, their friends, and mine, are due especially to Arthur Albright, the hon. Secretary of this Association. I have been a daily witness for months of his zeal and devotion to the cause, to which he gives time, money, and talents. I have met no man, in either America or England, so well informed of the freedmen as he. I wish it were proper for me to tell of his generosity and kind attentions to me personally. In his public addresses he sometimes speaks of us jointly as "the case and the claims," but his untiring efforts have often made me question my own position. I hope I may have been of some assistance in raising this special fund, but to him, under Providence, really belongs the credit of the work.

#### SAVANNAH FREEDMEN'S ORPHAN ASYLUM.

WE have much pleasure in publishing the following Appeal. It is made by a well-known victim of Slavery, Linda Brent, now Harriet Jacob, whose narrative, entitled "Linda," every one should read. We hope her appeal will be met with a generous response.

##### AN APPEAL.

"My object in visiting England is to solicit aid in the erection of an Orphan Asylum in connection with a home for the destitute among the aged freedmen of Savannah, Georgia. There are many thousand orphans in the Southern States. In a few of the States homes have been established through the benevolence of Northern

friends; in others, no provision has been made except through the Freedmen's Bureau, which provides that the orphan be apprenticed till of age. It not unfrequently happens that the apprenticeship is to the former owner. As the spirit of Slavery is not exorcised yet, the child, in many instances, is cruelly treated. It is our earnest desire to do something for this class of children; to give them a shelter surrounded by some home influences, and instruction that shall fit them for usefulness, and, when apprenticed, the right of an oversight. I know of the degradation of Slavery—the blight it leaves; and, thus knowing, feel how strong the necessity is of throwing around the young, who, through God's mercy, have come out of it, the most salutary influences.

"The aged freedmen have likewise a claim upon us. Many of them are worn out with field-labour. Some served faithfully as domestic slaves, nursing their masters and masters' children. Infirm, penniless, homeless, they wander about dependent on charity for bread and shelter. Many of them suffer and die from want. Freedom is a priceless boon, but its value is enhanced when accompanied with some of life's comforts. The old freed man and the old freed woman have obtained their's after a long weary march through a desolate way. If some peace and light can be shed on the steps so near the grave, it were but human kindness and Christian love.

"I was sent as an agent to Savannah in 1865 by the Friends of New-York city. I there found that a number of coloured persons had organized a Society for the relief of freed orphans and aged freedmen. Their object was to found an asylum, and take the destitute of that class under their care. They asked my co-operation. I promised my assistance, with the understanding that they should raise among themselves the money to purchase the land. They are now working for that purpose. Their plan is to make the institution wholly, or in part, self-sustaining. It is proposed to cultivate the land (about fifteen acres) in vegetables and fruit. The institution will thereby be supplied, while a large surplus will remain for market sale. Poultry will also be raised for the market. This arrangement will afford a pleasant occupation to many of the old people, and a useful one to the older children out of school hours. I am deeply sensible of the interest taken and the aid rendered by the friends of Great Britain since the emancipation of Slavery. It is a noble evidence of their joy at the downfall of American Slavery and the advancement of human rights. I shall be grateful to any who shall respond

to my efforts for the object in view. Every mite will tell in the balance.

"LINDA JACOBS.

"Contributions can be sent to

"STAFFORD ALLEN, Esq., *Honorary Secretary*, 17, Church Street.

ROBERT ALSOP, Esq., 36 Park Road, Stoke Newington, N.

MRS. PETER TAYLOR, Aubrey House, Notting Hill, W."

### THE NATURAL RESOURCES OF JAMAICA.

WE purpose presenting to our readers a series of papers upon the natural resources of Jamaica, in the hope that we may be the means of directing attention to the wealth which is literally lying at the feet of enterprise in the Island of Springs. It is a too common error that sugar is the only paying crop, whereas innumerable products of various kinds could be raised at small cost, and at a large profit. Greatly is it to be regretted that an attempt is not made, by a small company under the Limited Liability Act, to lease an estate, and set an example to the small cultivators of what can be done by intelligent management, to increase the exports of Jamaica; or that the latter do not themselves turn their attention to crops which—like the Cassava—would yield an ample return for labour.

We are indebted for this proposed series of papers to a gentleman who passed many years in Jamaica, and who therefore speaks with authority on the matter.

#### CULTIVATION OF CASSAVA.

(*Jatropha Manihot*.)

"It appears from the statements and estimates of Dr. Shier, that the cultivation of the bitter cassava, and the preparation of its various products, both for exportation as also for home consumption, would be highly remunerative. Dr. Shier states that Mr. Glen has recently tested its value as an article of export, and added it to the other industrial resources of the colony. This gentleman, by erecting machinery on his plantation for grinding the root and preparing the starch of the bitter cassava, has already shipped the article in considerable quantities to Europe, and it has been sold at a price which puts the profit upon sugar cultivation completely to the blush. His agent in Glasgow writes, that any quantity (like that already shipped) can command a ready sale at 9d. per lb.

"The use is co-extensive, or nearly so, with sugar. The productive capabilities of the soil are not perhaps generally known, nor is it necessary that to pay the grower there it should bring even half that price. A sample of a ton, which was prepared, was submitted for examination to Dr. Shier, who admitted it to be a beautiful specimen of starch, although it had undergone but one washing.

"The root from which it was made was planted eight or nine months previously upon an acre of soil which had never undergone any preparation of ploughing, or been broken or turned up in any way. The plants were never weeded after they began to spring, nor were they tended or disturbed until they were ripe and pulled up. The expense of planting an acre was five dollars, and reaping this crop would, I suppose, amount to as much more, say 2l. in all. The green cassava was never weighed, but the acre yielded fully a ton of starch, equal, at 9d. per lb., to 84l.

"The experimental researches of Dr. Shier have led him to believe that the green bitter cassava will give one-fifth its weight of starch. If this be the case, the return per acre would, under favourable circumstances when the starch is properly worked, be enormous. On an estate, an acre of cassava grown in fine permeable soil was sifted, and, when weighed, it yielded twenty-five tons of green cassava.

"Such a return as that per acre would enable our West-India colonies to inundate Great Britain with food, and at a rate which would make flour to be considered a luxury. Dr. Shier is convinced that in thorough drained land, where the roots would penetrate the soil, and where its permeability would permit of their indefinite expansion, a return of twenty-five tons per acre might uniformly be calculated upon. What a blessing, not only to those colonies but to the world, would the introduction be of this cheap and nutritious substitute for the potato.

"An acre of cassava is said to yield as much nutriment as six acres of wheat.

"Besides the enormous return above stated may be added also the profits arising from the sale of the quagua, or refuse portion of the fibre, as also the inspissated juice or *cassareep*:\* the former sells at the rate of 3d. a quart, the latter, in Jamaica,

\* This juice is an excellent condiment, and is the base of the far-famed "pepper-pot" of the West Indies. Meat steeped in it may be preserved perfectly sweet for an unlimited period, and even gains in flavour by the process. [Ed. A. S. R.]



for the most part is at present thrown away as useless.

"Mr. Simmonds states that the green cassava, when properly cultivated, will yield twenty-five tons to the acre, and this will give one-fifth of its weight in starch."

#### THE CASE OF ALEXANDER PHILLIPS.

IN our present issue will be found the report of the latest application made to the Courts, in the civil action instituted by Mr. Alexander Phillips against Mr. Eyre. In our last we gave a very brief summary of Mr. Phillips's case as introductory to an appeal we made in his behalf. We now submit his evidence, as tendered to the Royal Commission in Jamaica, and which will be found in the Blue Book, Part II., Minutes of Evidence and Appendix, pages 345 and 928.

Before we bring this narrative under the notice of our readers, it will be well to point out certain circumstances bearing on the apprehension and imprisonment of Mr. Phillips, which will tend to shew how bitter was the persecution he endured—in common, it must be said, with many others, who will never obtain redress—and how determined seemed his persecutors to get rid of him.

Mr. Phillips, it will be observed, was arrested on the 24th of October 1865. His offence was the having acted as Secretary to that "Underhill meeting" at Vere (eighty miles from Morant Bay), over which G. W. Gordon presided, and at which this victim of martial law was falsely accused of advising the people of Jamaica to rebel. In passing, we may remark upon the fact, that Colonel Lewis, who came over to England last year, and was examined at Bow Street in the case of Nelson and Brand, had actually presided over a similar meeting, held at about the same time, at Spanish Town; yet was he neither accused of treason, nor arrested, nor flogged, nor even hanged.

During martial-law he was president of sundry courts-martial which "hanged like fun." How Mr. Lewis escaped the fate which overtook so many who had merely attended Underhill meetings in a more subordinate capacity is to be explained only by that trite old adage, "One man may steal a horse when another may not look over the hedge." It is obviously inexplicable how the same act should in one case have been considered treasonable, and in another regarded as perfectly legitimate, unless the theory be admitted that all who were politically associated with G. W. Gordon were held to harbour treasonable designs. This was certainly the fact in the

case of Mr. Phillips, who was soon conveyed to the Golgotha at Morant Bay, to be dealt with summarily. He arrived there on the morning of the 27th. On the 28th, Colonel Fyfe, of the Maroons, being then at Bath, some fourteen miles north-east of Morant Bay, writes to "dear Governor Eyre," acknowledging receipt of a letter from him dated the 26th of the same month—that is, three days before—from which we make the following suggestive extract:

"The Maroons are behaving remarkably well. I have prepared them for the execution of Phillips, although, at their request, I have written General Nelson to ask, if his case is not a very bad one, that his sentence (if of death) may be commuted to imprisonment for life. General is anxious to consent."

We would call attention to the passage we have underlined. Mr. Phillips had not been even tried when this letter was written, yet preparations for his execution had already been made. Further, Colonel Fyfe was fourteen miles away from Morant Bay; it was in the rainy season, and communications were difficult, if not almost impracticable. Mr. Eyre made it a great merit that the soldiers moved about under such circumstances. It is, therefore, more than probable that, at the time Colonel Fyfe wrote this note, he did not even know of Phillips' arrival at Morant Bay, although, from his allusion to Mr. Eyre's "kind note of the 26th," it is almost certain he had been acquainted with his arrest, and with the intention of the Governor to have him hanged. If the Governor did not intimate what was to be done with Phillips, how came Colonel Fyfe to prepare his Maroons for the poor fellow's execution before he had even had a trial? Where is that note of the 26th? The Maroons—to which class Phillips belonged—must have pretty well understood what fate awaited him, that they asked prospectively for a commutation of his sentence.

This same letter also contains another very singular reference. Colonel Fyfe expresses the earnest hope that the Governor "will despatch Mr. Bicknell to Morant Bay to assist General Wilson in persuing papers, and getting up cases for courts-martial. The General has so much to do," he adds, "and his services are so essential on other important points, that it would be a severe tax on his time and mind to have to search often through a bushel of rubbish before he can obtain the grain of evidence which is to avail him."

This was the way, then, in which men were literally dragged to certain death; "a grain of evidence" was sufficient to consign them to the gallows, or to the

whip. No wonder there is a desire to prevent these facts from being made known to the public.

We now call our readers' attention to Mr. Phillips' evidence, requesting them to bear in mind that he was afterwards tried on a charge of sedition, and acquitted.

Mr. PHILLIPS said: I am in the position of a gentleman, and living on my own means. On the 24th of October I was arrested by Lieutenant Sinclair, who stated that he was ordered to do so by the Governor. My house was searched and my papers taken. I was then taken to the court-house in Vere, my ordinary place of residence, and placed in the custody of the military. On the 25th, myself and other prisoners were put into handcuffs and tied with ropes. Morris and myself were placed in a cart, and driven to Spanish Town, and afterwards taken to Up-park camp, and from thence by the military to Ordnance Wharf, where we embarked on board the *Wolverine*, when the handcuffs were taken off, and my foot put into a shackle. I reached Morant Bay about nine o'clock on the morning of the 27th, and was delivered into the charge of Provost-Marshal Ramsay. I was then, with five others, placed in a cell about nine feet square, where we remained until Sunday. On Sunday Provost-Marshal Ramsay ordered me to be placed in No. 1 condemned cell by myself. I remained here all Sunday and Monday, when I was taken to the temporary court-house, and compelled to witness the executions. I saw Clarke and Lawrence executed amongst many other prisoners. One of the men said it was his ignorance that brought him to death; and others cried loudly that it was "innocent death." Ramsay generally called out to me, and said, "I hope that fellow Phillips will keep his eyes there, and see what is going on," and "I hope they will watch that fellow Phillips, that he might not make his escape." On the 4th we were summoned before Ensign Taylor and another officer, whose name I do not know—I think he was a navy officer—who told me to take off my clothes, and to receive 100 lashes. They never told me what it was for, nor did they read any charge to me. I took off my clothes, and complained in a submissive manner, that, from ill health, I was unable to undergo such severe punishment. An officer told me to let them see my back. I turned round; and he said, "Oh, you have a good back to receive it." I was then ordered to kneel down and receive the flogging. I knelt down before him, and he told me to say "God bless the Queen." I did so. He said, say "D—n every black man," and I said so. He then said, "Rise now, and take up your clothes, and take your pass and go away, and I hope that after you will not interfere with politics. You ought to be thankful to the Queen. If it were not for the Queen you would have been hung this day." I then left. I was Secretary to a meeting at Vere, and was subpoenaed to attend the court as a witness, when I was indicted for conspiracy, and I am informed that a true bill was found against me. For the last five or six years I have had no connection with the *Watchman*. I am a Maroon,

and am not aware that my countrymen have repudiated me. I am quite sure that I have never been tried and never questioned. There was not any evidence given against me by any officers, to my knowledge or in my presence. I think Ensign Taylor was a military officer, and I think the other was a naval officer. I only know that it was Ensign Taylor made me kneel down and say "God save the Queen, and d—n all black men," from the pass I got. I did not see the pass signed. I do not know whether I should be able to identify either of the officers, as I do not know them personally. A policeman and the boatswain of the prison was present, but I do not know the name of the former. I could not make any preparation to resist my apprehension when I was not aware that it was intended. I was taken by surprise when I saw the armed volunteers come to apprehend me. I do know Dr. Bruce. He is a friend of mine. I had fever immediately after I was flogged, and was confined in bed for two weeks.

Mr. A. Phillips was recalled on the 15th March, and gave the following additional evidence:

Mr. Gordon did not make use of the expression, "Do as they have done in Haiti," nor did any one else at the meeting in Vere.

On the evening of the 21st of October Mr. Alexander M'Gregor called at my house, and told me he was requested to warn me, in Her Majesty's name, through Pinnock, corporal of police, to attend at the Alley, to go with him, and to warn the people of Hayes district to attend on Monday, and enlist themselves as volunteers. I answered, "I will do so. It is late in the evening, and it is wet, and I am unwell; but if it is the Queen's business, I will do it." He, Mr. M'Gregor, then said Pinnock told him he had power to warn two or three respectable people to assist him. I went with him; and he suggested it would be right to take the names of persons in Hayes, and give the list to Mr. Shaw, who could choose those he liked to enlist as volunteers, and I did so. It rained heavily on Sunday, and on Monday we attended at the Alley; and on Tuesday, as I was getting ready to go, and the list, with two other papers, were before me, the volunteers came and arrested me, and took these papers. Mr. Alexander M'Gregor suggested to me that it would be right to make out a list of the names of persons fit for duty, and present it to Mr. Shaw. Mr. M'Gregor's name was second on the list, mine first. The persons whose names appear on it were all living in Hayes district in Vere, and the total number was above a hundred. I never made out but one list, and that was taken from me, with another that was not in my handwriting, and of which I made a copy.

Any donations in testimony of sympathy with Mr. Phillips may be forwarded to the Secretary of the Anti-Slavery Society, at No. 27 New Broad Street, E.C., London, and will be thankfully received. Let our friends bear in mind the axiom, *Bis dat qui cito dat*, which, in the present instance, has a special appropriateness.

## The Anti-Slavery Reporter.

MONDAY, MARCH 2, 1868.

### NOTICE TO FRIENDS AND SUBSCRIBERS.

OUR subscribers are respectfully informed that their Annual Contributions to the funds of the *British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society* fell due on the 1st of January. All subscribers to the amount of Ten Shillings annually are entitled to receive, post-free, a copy of the *Anti-Slavery Reporter*, and of any tract or pamphlet issued by the Society. To non-subscribers, the *Reporter* is sent on payment of Four Shillings in advance, commencing on the 1st of January. Payments should be made to John Ransley, either in stamps or by Post-office Order, made payable at the Post-office, New Broad Street, E.C., London.

### THE SLAVE-TRADE ON THE EAST COAST OF AFRICA.

ADDRESS TO LORD STANLEY.

WE subjoin the text of an address to Lord Stanley on the subject of the Slave-trade on the East Coast of Africa, from the Committee of the *British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society*, and a copy of his lordship's reply.

ADDRESS.

To the Right Honourable LORD STANLEY,  
Her Majesty's Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs.

"MY LORD—

"THE Committee of the *British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society* have, for a considerable time past, had their attention painfully directed to the extensive slave-trade carried on from the East Coast of Africa, especially from the dominions of the Sultan of Zanzibar, and have concluded to address your lordship on the subject, in the hope that Her Majesty's Government will be pleased to take such prompt and effectual steps as may lead to its suppression.

"The Committee are aware that slave-trading has never been confined to the territories on the East Coast over which the Crown of Portugal claims jurisdiction; and although the Portuguese authorities in those settlements have flagrantly violated the treaty obligations for the suppression of the slave-trade contracted by Portugal

with Great Britain, the Committee were encouraged to believe that the closing of the Brazilian market, the increased difficulty of introducing fresh negroes into Cuba, and the prohibition of the *engagé* system, by His Imperial Majesty the Emperor of the French, would speedily put a stop to this branch of the traffic. The Committee are gratified to perceive that the official reports on the slave-trade annually laid before Parliament tend to confirm this view, and that the export of slaves from Mozambique and other Portuguese ports on that coast, for Cuba, has almost ceased; and they venture to hope that further remonstrances on the part of Her Majesty's advisers may induce the Portuguese Government to adopt prompt measures for its complete suppression.

"While, however, the Committee gathered from the aforesaid papers, and from other sources, that considerable numbers of slaves were annually conveyed from Zanzibar, and some of the islands adjacent, to ports on the Red Sea, to supply the Arabian, Persian, and Turkish markets, they were not prepared for the awful disclosures which quickly followed Dr. Livingstone's second expedition into the Zambesi country, and which have been confirmed by other travellers. From these accounts it would appear, that although the number of slaves annually exported from the places named may not exceed 30,000, the mortality incidental to the journey from the interior to the coast is computed to be not below 200,000; a sacrifice of life too awful, and representing an amount of suffering too terrible for any imagination to realize. Entire and vast districts are represented as having been wholly depopulated within a period of three or four years, the majority of the surviving victims having been imported into the dominions of the Sultan of Zanzibar, notwithstanding the treaty concluded between his late father the Imaum of Muscat and the British Government. The Committee understand that the Sultan claims, under this treaty, the privilege of introducing labourers for domestic service. It need scarcely be asserted that this is a mere pretext to disguise wholesale slave-trade. A similar excuse was put forward for the *engagé* system as prosecuted from both the West and the East Coast under the Régis contract to supply Réunion and other French colonies with so-called free-labourers; but it was proved that the simple demand for men was a provocative to the internal slave-trade, and hence the remonstrances of Her Majesty's Government with that of His Imperial Majesty the Emperor of the French, which happily resulted in the prohibition of that system.



"If the treaty with the late Imaum of Muscat, by which his sons, the present Imaum and the Sultan of Zanzibar, are bound, may be so interpreted as to justify the Sultan's construction of it, the Committee trust that Her Majesty's Government will see it right to take prompt steps to obtain such a modification of it as shall supply a remedy for so grave a defect.

"With respect to the additional means which might be adopted to put a stop to slave-trading from Portuguese settlements on the East Coast, the Committee attach great importance to the suggestion of Dr. Livingstone, that the ports and rivers should be thrown open to legitimate commerce. Dr. Livingstone asserts, after a close study of the subject, and much experience, that the restrictive system of the Portuguese, whilst it encourages the slave-trade, checks all enterprise and lawful trade. The same observation has been made by Mr. McLeod, formerly Her Britannic Majesty's Consul at Mozambique. It may therefore not be out of place for the Committee to suggest that this course be urged upon the Portuguese Government for its adoption.

"We respectfully commend this Memorial to your lordship's attentive consideration, and have the honour to remain,

"MY LORD,

"On behalf of the Committee,

"Your Lordship's, &c. &c.,

(Signed)

EDMUND STURGE,  
Chairman of Committee.

L. A. CHAMEROVZOW,  
Secretary.

"27 New Broad Street.

"27th Jan. 1868."

LORD STANLEY'S REPLY.

"Foreign Office,

"February 8, 1868.

"SIR—

"I AM directed by Lord Stanley to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 27th ultimo, calling the attention of Her Majesty's Government, on behalf of the Committee of the *British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society*, to the traffic in slaves carried on from the East Coast of Africa, and expressing a hope that effectual measures may be adopted for its suppression.

"I am, in reply, to acquaint you, for the information of the Committee, that the subject-matter of your letter has not ceased to occupy the attention of Her Majesty's Government; and I am to add that the Sultan of Zanzibar has recently granted further privileges to British cruisers engaged in the suppression of the slave-trade, which there is every reason to hope will

materially facilitate the suppression of the traffic.

"I am, SIR,

"Your obedient humble Servant,

(Signed)

"E. C. EGERTON.

"The Secretary to the *British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society*."

#### SLAVE-TRADE AND SLAVERY IN QUEENSLAND.

THAT demand creates supply, is an incontrovertible axiom in political economy; hence Slavery, as a labour-system, which most rapidly uses up the labourer, causes a continuous demand for fresh slaves, and hence the difficulty of putting down the slave-trade. We have seen how the alleged requirements of the planters in the French colonies led to the introduction of what is known as the *engagé* system, resulting in giving increased activity to the trade in human flesh, from both the West and the East Coasts of Africa. We know that the demand for Chinese Coolies for Cuba, Peru and other parts, has given rise to a traffic in the natives of the Celestial Empire, in no respect—save in outward form—differing from the African slave-trade. The Coolie labour-system in our West-India colonies originally started speculations in labourers from India, the abuses of which—happily now greatly diminished—were so notorious, that the home Government was compelled to legislate upon the subject, and it is not incorrect to state that antecedent to such legislation, the mode of procuring these Indians, the circumstances under which they were shipped, and the manner of their conveyance to their destination, were scarcely less cruel than the incidents of the regular slave-trade.

We now find that a similar traffic in South-Sea Islanders is being carried on for the benefit of certain owners of estates in Queensland. Our correspondent sends us several official documents in support of his allegations, which are these. He says:

"You will perceive that this traffic in South-Sea Islanders is a revival of the slave-trade—*pure et simple*. It is conducted by private individuals without the sanction of the British Government, without any law to regulate and control it, without any supervision by the colonial authorities, and without any provision for the protection of these unfortunate people. They are brought here in various ways: some are kidnapped; some are enticed on board on the pretence that they are merely going for a cruise among the islands; others are induced to engage themselves for a year, and to come to Queensland on the promise of being taken back in twelve

months. This promise to return them in twelve months was kept with the first shipment only; with all the rest it has been broken. The consequence of this breach of faith has been that the natives in the islands have, in revenge, destroyed several vessels and murdered several Europeans. This fact was brought formally under the notice of the Governor of Queensland (Sir George Ferguson Bowen) by Captain Luce, H.M.S. *Esk*, at that time (April 25th, 1867) the senior naval officer on the Australian station. The Government of Queensland treated the matter with a degree of levity, for which no excuse can be made but their profound ignorance of the real nature of the traffic, of the state of public opinion throughout the civilized world in reference to it, and of their own responsibility. Aroused from this lethargy by the letters which appeared in the *Courier*, they hurriedly brought in a Bill in the Legislative Council "to regulate and control the introduction and treatment of Polynesian labourers." The very first clause of that Bill declares the present traffic to be illegal; and yet, in the face of that Bill, members of both Houses of the Legislature, including the Premier of the colony, (the Hon. R. R. Mackenzie), are engaged in the traffic. An attempt is made by this Bill to over-ride the Imperial Act of 1824, which declares the kidnapping of negroes to be piracy, punishable with death (since altered to transportation for life). Kidnapping is now declared to be a minor offence, punishable by a trivial fine, *not exceeding 2l.* for the first offence, and *not exceeding 5l.* for any subsequent offence. The policy of the British Government and of the whole civilized world is contemptuously set aside by our Queensland senators, and the slave-trade is to be revived in Queensland, notwithstanding the Imperial prohibition.

"A petition, unanimously adopted at one of the largest assemblies held in this city, has been presented to the Governor, praying that His Excellency will be pleased, in accordance with the powers entrusted to him as the representative of Her Majesty, to use his best endeavours to immediately suppress and prohibit this illegal and injurious traffic in human beings.

"I hope the Society will take up this matter promptly, bring it under the consideration of Parliament, and, if it be advisable, apply for a Commission of Inquiry to investigate the matter."

The following is the text of the address referred to:

"To His Excellency SIR GEORGE FERGUSON BOWEN, Knight Grand Cross of the Most Distinguished Order of St. Michael and St. George, Captain-General and Governor-

in-Chief of the Colony of Queensland and its Dependencies, and Vice-Admiral of the same, &c.

"The petition of a number of the inhabitants of the Colony of Queensland, in public meeting assembled in the city of Brisbane,

"Humbly sheweth:

"That your petitioners view with much anxiety the introduction into this colony of a large number of natives of the South-Sea Islands, by private individuals, to work as labourers on sugar plantations, cotton plantations and on sheep and cattle stations.

"That these natives have been, and are still being, brought, without the sanction of Her Majesty's Government, without any colonial law to control or legislate their introduction, to protect them afterwards, or to secure their return home on expiration of term of service.

"That your petitioners have reason to believe that many of these natives have been kidnapped and brought forcibly here, and others under false and deceptive representations; while many have been induced to come by the promise that they should be conveyed home within twelve months; that this promise has not been fulfilled, but, on the contrary, that many of these natives have been detained in the colony for periods of three years and upwards, on the allegation they had engaged for that time.

"That this breach of faith, combined with the illegal manner in which these natives have been obtained, has led to the loss of several vessels, and to the murder of several Europeans at the South-Sea Islands by the natives, in revenge for the abduction and detention of their kindred. These facts are confirmed by Captain J. P. Luce, of H.M.S. *Esk*, the senior naval officer on the Australian station, who communicated to your Excellency, on the 25th of April 1867, as follows: 'I have lately received reports of the loss of several vessels and the murder of several Europeans at Hinchinbrook and other islands of the New Hebrides group. I enclose an extract from a letter written by a trader in that group, wherein you will see that he is informed the natives say that they are doing these atrocities in revenge for the loss of many of their countrymen who were carried away three years ago to Queensland and Fiji Islands by Europeans, who hired them as labourers, and promised to return them to their homes in twelve months.'

"Your petitioners regard with dismay the introduction of an inferior and uncivilized race into this colony to supplant the British and European labourer, as it will have the effect of reducing to destitution and inactivity the working classes of the colony, who have been induced to emigrate here in large numbers by the hope of finding in Queensland an independent home and permanent employment; and we would advert to its being irreconcilably opposed to the Constitution of the colony and the intention of its foundation.

"Wherefore your petitioners humbly pray that your Excellency will be pleased, in accordance with the powers entrusted to you as the representative of Her Majesty, to use your best

endeavours to immediately suppress and prohibit this illegal and injurious traffic in human beings.

"And your Excellency's petitioners, as in duty bound, will ever pray, &c."

The documents sent to us fully sustain the allegations of the memorialists, and in substantiation of the character of the trade and of the system, Mr. Short quotes the fact that "the men who brought" the islanders into Queensland "were paid for their living merchandize in cash, at the rate of about 9*l.* or 10*l.* a-head, while the unfortunate islanders themselves, who were passive agents in the transaction, were consigned to a species of Slavery for three years, during which time they were to be clothed, housed and fed, as slaves usually are, but to get no wages until the term of service had expired; when, if their employer was solvent and honest, they might get paid; but if, in the mean time, he became insolvent—a contingency by no means unlikely to occur, considering the speculative character of the industry, and the manner in which business transactions are usually carried on in Queensland—the poor islanders would lose all their wages, and would have no redress."

The official returns shew that from the 18th of August 1863 to the end of last October—perhaps a little later—the total number of South-Sea Islanders introduced into Brisbane and the northern ports amounted to 1267, of whom only 201 had been sent back from Brisbane, but none from the northern ports. Other importations, however, are known to have been made, not included in these official returns. Mr. Short thus summarizes his conclusions:

"From these and other returns which have been laid before Parliament, the following facts have been clearly and distinctly proved:

- "1. The trade in South-Sea Islanders is a lawless traffic, there being no law or Government regulations to control it in the colony.
- "2. That this traffic is carried on by private individuals, subject to no control or supervision by the Government.
- "3. That a 'free-trade' in negroes has been carried on for some years, without the sanction, but with the knowledge of the Government. The reticence of the Government appears to have been construed practically as consent.
- "4. That the people who are thus brought here are unprotected; and are completely at the mercy of their employers.
- "5. That no provision has been made by the Government for the regulation of

this traffic and for the protection of these people when brought here.

- "6. That these poor simple people are engaged, or said to be engaged, for long terms of three years at the rate of two shillings and sixpence a week, to be paid on the truck system, at the end of their term of service.

"By this arrangement their 'kind master' gets credit for their labour for three years, and, during that time, pays them nothing; but if they are good 'boys' and do plenty of work they may be 'occasionally rewarded with beads.'

"I have no hesitation in saying that this system will meet with universal condemnation wherever it becomes known. I am bound, in charity, to suppose that those who have entered into this traffic have done so under the impression that it was a legitimate mode of obtaining cheap labour, and without being aware of its illegal character."

The new Act lately accepted by the local legislature is certainly not calculated to meet the exigencies of the case, which, according to our view, demand the prompt prohibition of these importations, and the immediate restoration of these poor people to their homes. For instance, Clause 16 of the Bill imposes a penalty of 5*l.* on all persons harbouring Polynesian labourers, without reporting the fact to the Immigration Agent; and Clause 17 inflicts for any breach of the new regulations a fine not exceeding 2*l.* for a first offence, and not exceeding 5*l.* for a second; so that one penny or one shilling would still be a fine in conformity with the law. Experience has proved that no amount of fine or penalty will suppress illegal traffic of any kind, so long as the gains therefrom hold out a sufficient inducement for prosecuting it. Prohibition is, in fact, the only radical remedy in cases of this kind.

The subject will be taken up by the Committee of the *British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society*, who will send in a memorial to the Colonial Office.

#### MORE ABOUT SLAVERY IN BRAZIL.

THE *National Anti-Slavery Standard*, to which we are indebted for the sketches of Slavery and Slave Life in Brazil, recently republished in our columns, furnishes some further information on the same subject, taken from *A Journey in Brazil*, written by Professor and Madame Agassiz. We append a quotation. They had visited a small island on the coast, and saw a dance of slaves. The writer says:

"The dance and the song had, like the amusements of the negroes in all lands, an endless monotonous repetition. Looking at their half-



naked figures and unintelligent faces, the question arose, so constantly suggested when we come in contact with this race, 'What will they do with this great gift of freedom?' The only corrective for the half doubt is to consider the whites side by side with them: whatever one may think of the condition of Slavery for the blacks, there can be no question as to its evil effects on their masters. Captain Bradbury asked the proprietor of the island whether he hired or owned his slaves. 'Own them—a hundred, and more; but it will finish soon,' he answered in his broken English. 'Finish soon! how do you mean?' 'It finish with you; and when it finish with you, it finish here, it finish everywhere.' He said it not in any tone of regret or complaint, but as an inevitable fact. The death-note of Slavery in the United States was its death-note everywhere. We thought this significant and cheering.—p. 49.

This was written in 1865. A few months after—

We had a long conversation with our pleasant travelling companion, Mr. Sinimbu, senator from the province of Alagoas, on the aspect of Slavery in Brazil. It seems to me that we may have something to learn here in our own perplexities respecting the position of the black race among us, for the Brazilians are trying, gradually and by instalments, some of the experiments which are forced upon us without previous preparation. The absence of all restraint upon the free blacks, the fact that they are eligible to office, and that all professional careers are open to them, without prejudice on the ground of colour, enables one to form some opinion as to their ability and capacity for development. Mr. Sinimbu tells us that here the result is, on the whole, in their favour: he says that the free blacks compare well in intelligence and activity with the Brazilians and Portuguese. But it must be remembered, in making the comparison with reference to our own country, that here they are brought into contact with a less energetic and powerful race than the Anglo-Saxon. Mr. Sinimbu believes that emancipation is to be accomplished in Brazil by a gradual process which has already begun. A large number of slaves are freed every year by the wills of their masters; a still larger number buy their own freedom annually; and as there is no longer any importation of blacks, the inevitable result of this must be the natural death of Slavery. Unhappily the process is a slow one, and in the meanwhile Slavery is doing its evil work, debasing and enfeebling alike whites and blacks. The Brazilians themselves do not deny this, and one constantly hears them lament the necessity of sending their children away to be educated, on account of the injurious association with house-servants. In fact, although politically Slavery has a more hopeful aspect here than elsewhere, the institution from a moral point of view has some of its most revolting characters in this country, and looks, if possible, more odious than it did in the States.

The other day, in the neighbourhood of Rio, I had an opportunity of seeing a marriage between two negroes, whose owner made the religious, or, as it appeared to me on this occasion, irreligious ceremony, obligatory. The bride, who was as black as jet, was dressed in white muslin, with a

veil of coarse white lace, such as the negro women make themselves, and the husband was in a white linen suit. She looked, and I think she really felt, diffident; for there were a good many strangers present, and her position was embarrassing. The Portuguese priest, a bold, insolent-looking man, called them up and rattled over the marriage service with most irreverent speed, stopping now and then to scold them both, but especially the woman, because she did not speak loud enough, and did not take the whole thing in the same coarse, rough way that he did. When he ordered them to come up and kneel at the altar, his tone was more suggestive of cursing than praying; and having uttered his blessing, he hurled an amen at them, slammed the prayer-book down on the altar, whiffed out the candles, and turned the bride and bridegroom out of the chapel with as little ceremony as one would have kicked out a dog. As the bride came out, half crying, half smiling, her mother met her and showered her with rose-leaves, and so this act of consecration, in which the mother's benediction seemed the only grace, was over. I thought what a strange confusion there must be in these poor creatures' minds, if they thought about it at all. They are told that the relation between a man and his wife is a sin, unless confirmed by the sacred rite of marriage: they come to hear a bad man gabble over them words which they cannot understand, mingled with taunts and abuse which they understand only too well, and, side by side with their own children, grow up the little fair-skinned slaves to tell them practically that the white man does not keep himself the law he imposes on them. What a monstrous lie the whole system must seem to them if they are ever led to think about it at all. I am far from supposing that the instance I have given should be taken as representing the state of religious instruction on plantations generally. No doubt there are good priests who improve and instruct their black parishioners; but it does not follow because religious services are provided on a plantation, the ceremony of marriage observed, etc., that there is any thing which deserves the name of religious instruction. It would be unjust not to add the better side of the question in this particular instance. The man was free, and I was told that the woman received her liberty and a piece of land from her master, as her marriage dower.—pp. 128, 131."

#### THE JAMAICA DISTURBANCES.

ON Saturday the 10th ult., in the Court of Queen's Bench (Judge's Chambers, before Mr. Brewster), two very important applications were made in the civil proceedings that are being carried on against ex-Governor Eyre, arising out of the Jamaica disturbances.

Though it is, perhaps, hardly necessary to call the attention of the public to the grave circumstances that have given rise to the proceedings now in progress, it may be stated, that after the refusal of the Shropshire magistrates to commit Mr. Eyre on

the charge then brought against him, which was the wilful murder of Mr George William Gordon, Mr. Alexander Phillips and Dr. Robert George Bruce each brought actions against the ex-Governor of Jamaica to recover damages, in Mr. Phillips's case for assault and false imprisonment, and in Dr. Bruce's for false imprisonment. Mr. Phillips, who is a small proprietor in Jamaica, was, at the time of the disturbances, residing in a district named Vere, a distance of seventy miles from those portions of the island which were proclaimed to be under martial law. Mr. Phillips was there arrested by the special orders of ex-Governor Eyre, and conveyed to Morant Bay, to be tried before a military court-martial. After being incarcerated for several days, he was made to undergo 100 lashes without trial, and then set at liberty. He was subsequently indicted and tried before a special commission at Kingston on a charge of sedition, and acquitted. Dr. Bruce, who is the coroner for Vere, was also taken into custody at the same time and place, under precisely similar circumstances, and taken to Morant Bay to be dealt with by court-martial, but was removed by habeas corpus to Spanish Town before a judge in chambers, and released on his giving bail to appear before the special commission, to answer any bill of indictment that may be preferred against him. He was also indicted and tried before the special commission and acquitted. Both these individuals are now seeking their civil remedy for false imprisonment and assault alleged to have been committed by ex-Governor Eyre.

In the application made on Saturday (Re Phillips against Eyre), Mr. Warburton Pike, special pleader, instructed by Messrs. Shaen and Roscoe, 8, Bedford Row, appeared for the plaintiff; and Mr. Petheram, special pleader, instructed by Mr. James Anderson Rose, 11, Salisbury Street, Strand, represented the defendant.

Mr. Pike said that the defendant had pleaded not guilty to the action, and also that he was indemnified by the Act of Indemnity passed by the Jamaica Legislature shortly after the disturbances had been suppressed, and the plaintiff, by the present application, sought to join issue upon the facts, to demur to the plea of indemnity, to new assign further acts, and to allege that part of the trespasses complained of were committed out of the jurisdiction of the Jamaica Legislature.

Mr. Petheram objected to every thing except the joinder of issue, and urged the Master at once to refer the matter to the judge then sitting (Mr. Baron Pigott), as it was one of such great importance.

The Master said he would not be justified

in referring a summons to the judges without some valid reason, and in this instance he could discover none. It appeared quite clear to him that the plaintiff had as much right to raise an issue of law to be tried by the court as he had to raise an issue of fact to be tried by a jury, and he thought his application should be granted in order to enable him properly to bring his case before the court.

Mr. Petheram said it was so clear that the defendant was protected by the Indemnity Act, that the demurrer raising that question could only be for the purpose of delaying the case, and he would again respectfully urge the Master to refer the question to the judge.

The Master said, that if, when the demurrer was delivered, it turned out to be frivolous, the defendant could take out a summons to set it aside; but he could not see, that because the defendant was the ex-Governor of Jamaica he should do that which he should not do in an ordinary case. He declined to refer the summons to the judge, and granted the plaintiff's application.

#### BRUCE AGAINST EYRE.

This was an application by the plaintiff for an extension of three months' time to deliver his declaration in this action.

Mr. Warburton Pike, instructed by Messrs. Shaen and Roscoe, who appeared in support of the application, read an affidavit by the plaintiff's solicitor, as follows:

"In the Queen's Bench.—Between Robert George Bruce and Edward John Eyre.

"I, William Shaen, of No. 8, Bedford Row, Holborn, in the county of Middlesex, attorney for the plaintiff, make oath and say:—First, That this action is brought to recover damages for injuries alleged to have been sustained by the plaintiff, in consequence of his arrest and imprisonment in Jamaica, at the instance of the defendant, (who was then Governor of the island,) during the disturbances there in the year 1865. 2nd. That an action has been brought in this Honourable Court by one Alexander Phillips, who, it is alleged, was arrested and imprisoned at the instance of the defendant, at the same time and under the same circumstances as the above-named plaintiff; and the said defendant has pleaded in such action, which is being conducted by me as attorney for the said Alexander Phillips, and it is my intention to bring such action to trial at the earliest opportunity. Important questions of law and fact arise in such action, and the questions which will arise in this action will be almost, if not quite, identical; and will, as I verily believe, be practically decided in the said action of Phillips v.

Eyre, without bringing this cause to trial; and I say that very great expense will be saved to both parties by a suspension of further proceedings in this cause until after the trial of the said cause of Phillips v. Eyre. 3rd. That the above-named plaintiff is over sixty years of age, has been for a long time past a resident in Jamaica, and last year came to England for the purpose of prosecuting this action, but a considerable delay took place in consequence of the plaintiff being without funds to prosecute the same, and in the month of September he informed me that his medical advisers had told him that he would be unable to live through a winter in this country, and that he was therefore about to return to Jamaica; and it was then arranged that this cause should stand over till the trial of the said action of Phillips v. Eyre. I believe the said plaintiff in this action is now resident in Jamaica, and I say that it will take six weeks or thereabouts to communicate with him in reference with this action.

"Sworn, &c., Feb. 3, 1868."

Mr. James Anderson Rose opposed the application, and handed in an affidavit by himself, and called the Master's attention specially to the 8th paragraph. The affidavit is as follows:

"I, James Anderson Rose, of No. 11, Salisbury Street, Strand, in the county of Middlesex, gentleman, attorney in this action for the above-named defendant, make oath and say as follows:

"1. On the 21st of December 1866, an action was brought in the Court of Exchequer against the said Edward John Eyre by the above-named plaintiff, Robert George Bruce, and no declaration was ever delivered in the said action so brought in the Court of Exchequer.

"2. I believe the said plaintiff, Robert George Bruce, arrived in England from Jamaica on the 14th of May 1867, and on the following day, the 15th of May 1867, the said Robert George Bruce commenced a second action in the Court of Queen's Bench against the said Edward John Eyre. I believe the cause of action was the same in both the said suits. On the 5th of September 1867, an application was made by the said plaintiff, by summons, that he might be examined as a witness *viva voce*, and that an office copy of such examination might be read at the trial as evidence in the cause. On the hearing of such summons on the 10th of September 1867, an order was refused by the judge, since which time no further proceedings have been taken by the said plaintiff in this cause. A period of nearly nine months has elapsed since the 15th day of May 1867, when the writ in this action was issued.

"3. A Committee, calling itself the Jamaica Committee, has been formed for the purpose of prosecuting the said Edward John Eyre, whilst Governor of Jamaica. The said Committee has advertised for and, I believe, has collected large sums of money for the purpose of the said prosecution. Mr. William Shaen (of the firm of Shaen and Roscoe) is one of the attorneys in this action for the said plaintiff, and was one of the attorneys in the former action brought in the Court of Exchequer by the same plaintiff against the same defendant, and is the attorney of the said Jamaica Committee, and is also a member of the Executive Committee of the Jamaica Committee, as I believe, because he is so advertised by the said Jamaica Committee. He is also one of the attorneys in two other actions brought against the said Edward John Eyre by Alexander Phillips hereafter mentioned.

"4. The said William Shaen applied by counsel to the magistrates at Market Drayton, in the county of Salop, for a warrant against the said Edward John Eyre for an alleged murder in Jamaica of a mulatto named George William Gordon, and the said Edward John Eyre was taken into custody on the said warrant, and was charged before the magistrates at Market Drayton aforesaid with such alleged murder. On the hearing of the said charge the said William Shaen stated himself to be and was sworn as the prosecutor making the charge. The said magistrates, after hearing the case, dismissed the said charge. Since the said application the said Edward John Eyre has been annoyed and harassed by detective officers employed by and on behalf of the said Jamaica Committee, inquiring or professing to inquire for him at places in London where the said Edward John Eyre was staying at such times as business or other matters called him to London.

"5. On the 21st of December 1866, an action was commenced in the Court of Exchequer against the said Edward John Eyre by the said Messrs. Shaen and Roscoe, for a Maroon negro named Alexander Phillips, for some alleged illegal acts during the rebellion in Jamaica in October 1865. On the 7th of September 1867, a second action for the same cause of action was commenced by the said Messrs. Shaen and Roscoe, for the same plaintiff, in the Court of Queen's Bench, against the said Edward John Eyre, and such second action is now being proceeded with.

"6. The said William Shaen has made an affidavit in the same action brought against the said Edward John Eyre by the said Robert George Bruce that 'delay has taken place in consequence of the plaintiff



being without funds to prosecute the same,' and I believe the said Alexander Phillips has no visible means of paying the costs of the defendant should a verdict be not found for the plaintiff.

"7. A Royal Commission, dated the 13th of December 1865, was sent out to Jamaica to inquire respecting the disturbances in the Island of Jamaica, and the measures taken in the course of their suppression; and the said Jamaica Committee published a pamphlet called 'Jamaica Papers No. 1, Facts and Documents relating to the alleged Rebellion in Jamaica,' and in such pamphlet it is stated at page 80 that the Committee (meaning the said Jamaica Committee) had retained the service of two counsel, Mr. J. Gorrie and Mr. J. Horne Payne, who had been sent to Jamaica with instructions contained in a letter dated January 1866, No. 8, Bedford Row, and signed 'Shaen and Roscoe.' The following are extracts from the instructions to the said counsel, Messrs. Gorrie and Horne Payne, so sent out to Jamaica by the said Jamaica Committee: 'It is of the utmost importance that the work of the Commission should not be performed in such a way as to interfere with or impede any ulterior judicial proceedings which may be resolved upon for the purpose of bringing to trial any persons who may have been concerned in illegal acts.' 'For this purpose you will make such observations to the Commissioners as you may find possible and expedient, and in particular you will impress upon them the necessity of not permitting any to be examined without first being warned that they need not answer any question unless they like, and that what they say will be taken down in writing and may be given in evidence against them upon any trial in which they may be concerned.' 'Besides the inquiry before the Commission, there are two other kinds of proceeding which may hereafter become expedient; first, an indictment against some of the parties implicated in illegal transactions before the grand jury of the county of Middlesex under the 42 Geo. III., c. 85; and, secondly, actions may be brought for damages by any one who has suffered illegally, as was done in the case of Wright v. Fitzgerald, in respect of an act of cruelty perpetrated by the defendant as Sheriff of Tipperary in the suppression of the Irish rebellion of 1798.' 'With regard to this portion of the case we are anxious as soon as possible to know whether there is evidence of acts of illegality and cruelty such as would justify either indictments or actions; and we should wish evidence, if it exists, to be procured and transmitted home in the usual way as soon as possible,

and independently of the proceedings of the Commissioners. Upon this branch of the case you will be able to render much service, although the collecting of the evidence in the first instance will have to be performed through some local attorney, who will act as our agent in the matter.

"8. The said Jamaica Committee I believe to be an association of individuals conspiring together to prosecute persons on alleged charges of murder, and that such proceedings of the said Jamaica Committee are illegal. By the said criminal prosecutions brought and threatened to be brought by the attorneys and agents of the said Jamaica Committee, and by actions got up as set out in the last preceding paragraph of this affidavit, the said Edward John Eyre has been grievously harassed, oppressed and injured.

"Sworn at No. 11, Salisbury Street, Strand, in the county of Middlesex, this seventh day of February 1868. J. ANDERSON ROSE. Before me, R. Hodgson, a London Commissioner for taking affidavits in the courts of common law."

He (Mr. Rose) would remind the Master that the Jamaica Committee had nothing to do with these actions. He referred to a letter in the *Star* of the 7th of February, from Mr. Gorrie, (who was sent out to Jamaica by the Jamaica Committee,) begging for subscriptions to carry on the action of Phillips v. Eyre, and he believed the plaintiff to be insolvent, and that the defendant would never get his costs should he obtain a verdict. He said four actions had been brought against the defendant—two in this honourable Court and two in the Court of Exchequer.

The Master said the defendant could get an order for security for costs if he pleased.

Mr. Rose said the defendant wished to get rid of the actions, and not have them hanging over his head.

The Master said Mr. Shaen must have time to communicate with his client in Jamaica, and he would therefore grant the necessary time within which to deliver his declaration.

The result of the present application is, that one at least of these actions will be tried at the sittings after Trinity Term.

#### TESTIMONIAL TO COLONEL NELSON.

THE following is cut from a recent number of the *Daily News*:

One of the last votes of the House of Assembly in Jamaica, before its corrupt and mischievous existence was terminated, was to grant 200 guineas for the purchase of a testimonial to

Colonel Abercromby Nelson, as a token of gratitude for his conduct in suppressing the late "rebellion" in the eastern provinces of that island. Colonel Nelson is at this moment on duty in Ireland, and this reminder of his past feats will have pleasant significance in the eyes of the "Briton" of the *Times*, and of those who are whispering that worthy's "unspoken words." The testimonial has taken the form of a silver *épergne* and a candelabrum. It is thus described:

"At each of the angles of the tripod base of the *épergne* is stationed a figure in relief of a crocodile, and between these figures the arms of Brigadier-General Nelson, the arms of Jamaica, and an inscription of the extract from the votes of the House of Assembly, are engraved on three shields. From the base rise several sugar-canes in blossom, and between these stand two figures representing the aborigines of the island, each supporting a shield. These figures, with the representations of the crocodile at the base, are, it may be added, illustrative of the Jamaica arms. Above the sugar-canes rise six branches for lights, surmounted by a crocodile couched in the midst of palm leaves, and supporting a bowl for flowers or fruit."

"The design might have been more appropriate. The crocodile is in place, but it should be devouring its prey, and shedding tears after the creature's habit. Instead of the aborigines of the island, protected by a shield, the two figures amid the blossoming sugar-canes should be a planter rampant and a negro couchant; for the protecting shield might be substituted a whip of pianoforte wire, brandished by the one figure and aimed at the other. These suggestions came too late for the Nelson testimonial; but they are at the service of Mr. Carlyle or Mr. Ruskin, should either of those gentlemen be disposed to erect on the right hand of Canning's statue a drinking fountain in honour of Mr. Eyre, Colonel Nelson, and Lieutenant Brand, to balance that which the filial piety and public spirit of Mr. Charles Buxton have placed on the left of the statue in commemoration of Clarkson, Wilberforce, and Sir Fowell Buxton. The contrast would illustrate in a very instructive manner the growth of modern enlightenment and of an elevating hero-worship."

We may add that the bad taste of presenting the testimonial, after the report of the Royal Commission, is not to be exceeded, save by the worse taste of accepting it.

#### EDUCATION IN THE SOUTH.

A VERY remarkable article on the subject of education in the South has been published in a recent number of the *New-York Tribune*. It also treats of the needs of the rebel States, and of the duty of the North. No name is affixed to this letter, but it is evidently the production of one thoroughly posted up on the subject of which he treats.

The paper is too long a one for insertion in one number of our journal, but the facts are submitted in so condensed and interesting a form that curtailment without detracting from its value and completeness would be impossible. We propose, therefore, to republish it in sections from month to month. The importance of the subject will be recognised by every one, but it will be found, that although the negro is ignorant, the poor Southern white stands equally in need of education. Lord Brougham has truly said, "Let the soldier be abroad if he will, he can do nothing in this age. There is another personage—a personage less imposing in the eyes of some—perhaps insignificant. The school-master is abroad, and I trust to him, armed with his primer, against the soldier in full military array."

These words were never more applicable than to the present case.

It is much to be regretted, that amid the multiplicity of minor issues that arose during the late war, the people did not clearly comprehend at the beginning, when policy, purpose and parties were alike undefined, that the struggle was begun by an ambitious and organized aristocracy for its own salvation. The primary purpose of the rebel leaders was not the dissolution of the Union, for as long as they retained control over the whole country that result was gladly delayed; it was not merely the preservation of Slavery, for that had never been really endangered, and it was made by them not the cause, but, as Andrew Jackson had once prophesied it would be, the "pretext for agitation." The great purpose of the rebel leaders was the preservation in a part of the country of the political power which their system of clique, their organized aristocracy, had given them in the whole land; and the dissolution of the Union became a very unwelcome consideration in their plans. No more arbitrary or powerful aristocracy ever existed than that of the 90,000 slaveholders who in 1860 held the controlling interests in labour and lands in the Southern States of the American Union. The Southern people have been called "a nation of slaveholders," but this is an undeserved slur, for a reference to the census returns of the country will shew, that of the 8,000,000 whites who formed that nation in 1860 only 300,000 owned slaves at all, and of these only 90,000 owned over 10 in number. These 90,000 controlled and governed the country; the other slaveholders and a few hundred thousand merchants and professional men of some wealth, who aspired to hold office and become slaveholders and aristocrats, were their adherents; all the rest, the 7,000,000 "poor whites" and 4,000,000 blacks, in all 11,000,000 souls, were their victims—virtually their slaves. In other words 1,000,000 men, holding the landed property and the capital, and enjoying the education, ruled and controlled 11,000,000 labourers without property, capital, or education; and for many years through their dictatorial rules as a unit of the Southern half, they managed to rule the whole of the Union.



#### EDUCATION DISCOURAGED BY SLAVEHOLDERS.

The means by which the Southern slaveholders established and maintained their rule over their victims are among the greatest crimes ever committed against humanity, and the guilty confederates deserved the terrible fate which they provoked. It was accomplished first by the persistent discouragement of the education of both the negroes and "poor whites," and secondly by exciting and fostering a prejudice between the two races which formed the labouring class, until the results have been, that the Southern people have fallen far behind other nations in general enlightenment, and that, though possessing the same interests, as of the same labouring class, the "poor whites" and negroes have been taught to entertain toward each other, as of different races, a bitter hostility, which will require many years to eradicate.

#### UTTER IGNORANCE AMONG NEGROES.

No proof of the assertion that the negroes were kept in ignorance is necessary; the fact is apparent to all who are acquainted with the Southern or plantation negroes, and the contrary has never been claimed by the Southern people. The facts will as fully bear us out in the assertion that the "poor whites" were equally neglected, and further, that the slaveholders were much more careful to keep the "poor whites" from educating themselves than to keep the negroes in ignorance. They surrounded their section with a Chinese wall of ignorance and prejudice which the war has not served fully to demolish, and against which all array of facts, arguments and appeals have hitherto thrown themselves in vain; and this was done by purposely frowning down all free schools and cheap education schemes. While the slaves were prevented by written law from obtaining an education, the "poor whites" were prohibited in effect and prevented in reality, every scheme which looked to the enlightenment of the people by bringing them together was frowned down; and heaps of evidence of every character can be collected to prove that this was a part of the Southern system of rule. Statistics tell a great deal, and the United-States census report for 1860 is full of very significant figures. The fifteen Slave States—including Missouri and Delaware, which were practically free, and certainly not in the slaveholders' conspiracy—with a population of 12,240,000 souls, furnished 27,838 free or public schools, and gave education to 966,469 pupils, or one in every thirteen of the population. The nineteen free States, exclusive of the Territories, with a population of 18,678,416 persons, furnished 79,691 schools, and educated 3,977,327 pupils, or one in every four and four-fifths.

#### COMPARISONS.

Comparisons between individual States are not less conclusive. Alabama had a population in 1860 of 964,201, and supported 1903 public schools and 213 colleges and academies, at which 93,929 pupils were in attendance, or one in ten. Connecticut, with a population of less than one-half that of Alabama (460,147), supported 1805 public schools and 202 colleges and academies, with 92,182 pupils, or one in every five. Virginia, whose sons boast alike of their blood,

breeding and enlightenment, with a population of 1,596,318, supported 3778 public schools and 421 colleges and academies, and educated 101,491 pupils, or nearly one in every sixteen. Massachusetts, with a population of 1,231,060, supported 4134 public schools and 327 colleges and academies, with 222,708 pupils, of nearly one in every six of her population. Take one of the new Western free States and compare it with one of the oldest of the Slave States, and the conclusion is not less startling. Iowa, for instance, was admitted into the Union in 1846; North Carolina was one of the original thirteen. In 1860 Iowa had a population of 574,948; North Carolina, 992,622. Iowa at the same time had 3836 free schools with 165,588 scholars in attendance. North Carolina had but 2994 schools and 105,025 pupils. Iowa thus sent one out of every four of its population to school, while North Carolina, seventy-five years older as an organized government, gave education to only one out of every nine and a-half of her people.

#### STATE SUPPORT FOR SCHOOLS.

The support given to the colleges, academies, and private schools by the various States, is also a significant circumstance. Undoubtedly a great number of these were of a superior character to the public schools, but they were also much more expensive. It is a significant fact that the South, which neglected its public schools so grossly, supported these *superior* and *more expensive* schools in greater number and with more liberality than the Northern people did theirs; but it was for the reason, not that they were *superior*, but because they were *expensive*. The slaveholders encouraged all "high-priced" literature of every shape, because it was exclusive. The fact that the schools were expensive, gave their children the monopoly of the best teachers—the monopoly, in fact, of the little learning that was extant in the South; but the chief reason that induced this ready and liberal support was the fact that it practically prevented the "poor whites" from obtaining an education except in the public schools, which, as we have seen, they took care not to furnish. Look at the figures of the last census: the 213 colleges and academies of Alabama received encouragement, in the way of endowments from the Legislature, to the amount of 59,820 dollars, and were untaxed. Virginia also declined to tax her 421 private schools and colleges, and endowed them liberally; and the Southern politicians, who fully appreciated the astonishing force on unthinking minds of bold assertion, even when without any foundation in truth, on the strength of these apparent facts boasted that in the South "education was untaxed," and pointed sneeringly at Connecticut and Massachusetts, and "Puritanical New-England," which gave less encouragement to the "high-priced education" than it did to the cheaper system of free schools, supported by the taxation of those whose children were eligible to their benefits. Of these private schools, so numerous in Virginia, Massachusetts had only 327; but Cambridge and Harvard were of this number; while Connecticut boasted Yale among the 202 which she opposed to Alabama's 213. On the other hand, Alabama gave no



endowment to her public schools; Virginia gave only 4446 dollars; while the fourteen Slave States, including Missouri and excluding Delaware, gave as endowments to free schools only 136,251 dollars. Missouri alone gave 41,525 dollars of this amount, and she was not, in 1860, practically a Slave State any longer. Little Rhode Island, with one-fourth the population of South Carolina, educated on the cheap free system 25,570 pupils to South Carolina's 20,716, and had 59 high-priced colleges to South Carolina's 240. It is no slur upon the Southern States that they encouraged these higher order of schools, and the fact is only quoted as a proof of the assertion that, in the persistent discouragement of the public or cheap, and the encouragement of the private or expensive schools, the Southern slaveholders premeditated the crime charged—that of keeping "poor whites" and negroes alike in ignorance. How terrible was the crime can best be seen from the terrible effects of its commission, and these can best be shewn by a comparison of the results of the two systems employed at the North and South. The total white population of the fifteen Slave States in 1860 was 8,039,000, and of this number there were 538,871 over the age of 20 years who could not read or write, or one in every 15 of the white population. Add nine-tenths of the negro population (it may be safely assumed that not more than one-tenth of the negroes could read or write), and the proportion is actually one in three. The total population of the nineteen free States was 19,203,004, of whom 549,639 over the same age could not read or write, or one in 37, and a large proportion of these were emigrants lately landed.

#### VIGILANCE IN KEEPING OUT LITERATURE.

These figures ought to satisfy the most sceptical of the existence of design on the part of the slaveholders to discourage education among the classes named; but there are also facts other than figures which will be suggested to most readers. All can recall to mind instances in which books of fact like that of Helper, pamphlets and newspapers of plain and telling argument, and preachers of true principles have been suppressed and ostracised. It is not ten years since a white man and a native of Tennessee, was arrested and publicly flogged in the public square of Nashville for having in his bookstore a number of abolition pamphlets sent him by a Northern publisher without an order, and used by him as wrapping paper. He pleaded that he had not ordered the tracts, proved that it was not customary for publishers to send copies of their latest publications to their customers without orders to do so; but all in vain, and the thirty-nine lashes on the bare back were well and truly laid on. Two or three years before the war began, a Mobile bookseller was mobbed by the citizens of that place for having three or four copies of Helper's "Impending Crisis" in his house, sent by the Northern publisher without an order. The writer had hoped to quote freely in support of these views from the famous "Gregg Pamphlet," which was published about fifteen years ago in South Carolina, but he has been unable to procure a copy of it. It was in denunciation of a great manufacturing scheme started, at least on paper, with a

view to the establishment in the South of such manufactures as would give employment to a large class in England, and intended to give employment in the South to the "poor whites," leaving the negroes to till the land. The "Gregg Pamphlet" denounced and opposed this scheme on the ground that it would tend to make two distinct labouring classes—manufacturing and agricultural labourers—that the rivalry as labourers of the two races would thus end, and with it the animosity which divided the powerful labouring class against itself; and that if the whites were brought together they would naturally pick up new ideas of labour and the value of education, and the South would, in an incredibly short space of time, find the eleven millions of labourers actually taking privileges without asking the ruling minority of one million slave-owners.

#### SETTING POOR WHITES AND NEGROES AT ENMITY.

Only this extreme ignorance of the "poor whites" and negroes concealed the designs and actions of the ruling class from them. Through this ignorance the slave-owners were enabled to go a step further, and by a perfect system, not less carefully elaborated than that which deprived the labouring classes of schools, they were enabled to create and foster a prejudice and enmity between the "poor whites" and negroes which practically divided them in heart and interest. The two races, though belonging to the same labouring class, were placed in every position, social and political, in which they could be made offensive to each other. The plantation overseer was always a "poor white," and, when practicable, he was selected from among the emigrants from the North. A "Yankee overseer" commanded better wages than any others, not because, as his employers took great care to explain, that "he was more economical and a harder slave-driver," but because that he was a "Yankee" and a "poor white" had its effect with the negroes, and the "Yankee" who would consent to become an overseer was not considered by his employer as a dangerous emissary among the "poor whites." In politics the same system selected the police, who arrested all negroes found abroad after ten o'clock at night, the jailor who confined them, the judge who condemned them, the sheriff who tied them to the whipping-post, and the constable who laid on the lash for these petty offences, from among the "poor whites." A monopoly in the honours and emoluments of the higher offices of the general Government was maintained by the slave-owners: the whole of the minor offices of the State were thrown to the "poor whites," not as a "tub to the whale," but as bait to the fish: it was not concession, but conspiracy that prompted the generosity. The men who with bloodhounds hunted down the runaway slave were always "poor whites," and it was the kind master who healed the wound and rescued the slave from his pursuers and persecutors. In their ignorance these two factions of the same labouring class were made to believe that their interests were antagonistic instead of identical, and they could never be made to understand that the slave-owners were the enemies of both, and sought to

enslave both. Andrew Johnson, of Tennessee, understood this as well, if not better, than any man in the South, and in labouring for years in Tennessee to create a feeling of antagonism between the "poor whites" and the rich planters, he was touching at one root of the great evil; but Johnson had not the moral courage then, nor has he it now, to strike at the vital point. He strove only to bring on a conflict between the two classes of whites: he never for a moment contemplated the nobler work of uniting the "poor whites" and negro labourers in brotherly love, and, if necessary, combining them in a political party. Parson Brownlow, though of another political party than that of Johnson, took the same view of the case before the war, but he had the good sense and honesty, when he saw his mistake, to endeavour to rectify it, and has since laboured to unite the two factions of the labouring class, while Johnson has only laboured to further divide it. This ignorance on the part of the labouring class, and the antagonism existing between the two races forming it, was the great strength of the Rebellion, for the "poor whites" and slave negroes were actually led in their ignorance to fight and labour for an aristocracy which was endeavouring to more fully enslave them.

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